1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Rosa[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g*; 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c*, *d*; cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c*, *d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[2]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimók. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[3]

[1] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [2] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1 [i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[109] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[109] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

648
175
728

signal caracteristico da paz, e ellas os braços encruzados; cantavam alternadamente, e não com aquella algazarra que é propria dos seus divertimentos; mas davam por alguma forma a conhecer, no assustado dos seus semblantes, a incerteza que tinham da sinceridade dos homens que vinham a communicar."

(...at 7 o'clock in the morning they marched into the place unarmed, each lineage forming a column marching parallel to the others, and headed by their paramount chief Coerit, a man of fifty, highly esteemed by his people and of such conduct in office that he did not seem to be a savage at all.... All the men were carrying green twigs in their hands, the characteristic emblem of peace, and the women had their arms crossed. They sang alternately and not with so much noise as distinguishes their amusements. However, the alarm in their facial expression indicated their uncertainty as to the trustworthiness of the men with whom they sought an understanding.)[208]

Here is the fate of these same Põrekamekra according to Ribeiro after they had settled near the spot two months later:

O chefe Coerit foi injustamente deposto, e retido como prisioneiro no logar, e sobre os demais imperou por tal forma a tyrannia dos hospedantes que fez confundir uma parte com os selvagens Macamekrans, e fugiro reste em desesperação.

(The chief Coerit was unjustly deposed and kept prisoner in the village, and the rest were so burdened by the arbitrary domination of their hosts that part of them fused with the wild Macamekrans (= Krahõ') and the rest fled in despair.)

There are certainly Timbira tribes who have during the last century lived in amity with others, viz. the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye; the Apạ'nyekra and Krahõ'; the Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Kukóekamekra. Further, some of the tribes never broke the treaties made with Neobrazilians, for example, the Apạ'nyekra, the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal, and the Kre'pụ'mkateyé. Other tribes, once bitter enemies, have formally concluded peace and united, as did the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Čạ'kamekra. The ceremonial exchange of two precentresses customary on such occasions has been described. The institution of honorary chiefs (p. 9) likewise proves that the Timbira attached more importance to permanent peace than to incessant hostility.

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Visits.—Nevertheless mutual visits of Timbira groups, even when at peace, are not a simple affair. Several days after my first arrival among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I wished to visit the Apạ'nyekra, who lived only some fifty kilometers to the west. The two groups were on terms of peace, so I asked the councilors to let me hire a young man as guide and groom for my mount. To my astonishment this necessitated deliberations and negotiations protracted for days, and finally I was given for companions two men of mature years instead of the one young lad requested—one of the oldest councilors and another elder named Kopkré, whom I subsequently discovered to be a professional moderator and peacemaker. In reply to my subsequent query, why they had not provided *any* youth for the job, I learnt that that would have been inadvisable since a young man might easily commit some impropriety furnishing pretexts for hostilities and also causing me annoyance. However, such eventualities were not to be feared in the case of old Kentúm and the mediator Kopkré, whose sister, moreover, was married to an Apạ'nyekra.

In the hamlet of Porquinhos the chief, Chico Noleto Ka'kụ'lu, received me as his people are wont to receive strange "Christians." He regretted having nothing whatsoever to offer me and incessantly demanded rather than begged for anything that came into his head, using such phrases as, "What! You haven't even brought me such and such an object!" When I offered him some tobacco and a batch of cigarette paper, he refused to accept them on the ground that the present was insufficient, whereupon I calmly pocketed it, giving him nothing at all. At this point Kopkré displayed all his talents, introducing me to the second chief, an honorary chief

[208] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 66–67.

1 [only on p. 126, see category 116 --- Analyst]

1s Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara feathers required for the ketúaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãčą'.

In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto. The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f. The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[555]

Law

Property.—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[556] among the Eastern Timbira, the land belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pąkõbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[555] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 469. [556] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.

/48 cont./

123 622 574 352 285 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with

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The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 622 574 352 285 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right

2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.